

PEACE NEWS

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Churchill on Versailles

DURING the last war I lived in Dundee and the present Premier was my member. His attitude to Germany then and to the Versailles Peace is very instructive. He believed in that war with all his mind and soul and strength. When it was over I wrote to him on these lines:

"The war has not removed any one of the evils which it set out to destroy. Economic impotence may prevent war for a generation. But the seeds of war lie imbedded in a dictated Peace."

His reply is before me. It is worth quoting:

I am much obliged to you for your letter of December 6th 1918. If the peace which we are going to make in Europe should lead, as I trust it will, to the liberation of captive nationalities, to a reunion of those branches of the same family, which have been arbitrarily divided, to the drawing of frontiers in broad correspondence with the ethnic masses, it will remove for ever the causes of possible wars. And with the removal of the causes, armaments will gradually and naturally subside.

I cannot but think we have much to be thankful for . . .

With regard to Russia, you have only to seek the truth to be assured of the awful forms of anti-democratic tyranny which prevail there and the appalling social and economic reactions and degradations which are in progress . . .

*Yours very faithfully,
Winston S. Churchill.*

In his letter you have a rosy picture of "peace for ever" as the result of the knock-out blow. Mr. Churchill was quite sincere in his conviction that a successful war is the only method of assuring peace.

Here are the articles of Mr. Churchill's philosophy:

"Look after the war and after the war will look after itself" (1917).

"We hold our own."

"Some Germans are curable. All Germans are killable."

The aiders and abettors of this war and its prolongation are consciously and unconsciously carrying out in action these terrible maxims.

It is impossible to separate Mr. Churchill, the lover of war, from the inevitable results of his militarist faith. The fundamental article of all militarists is that might, overwhelming might, can make right. That is the main idea in all the Premier's speeches and in his practical politics.

It is never too late to mend. When the Liberals and Socialists see what this war is for, i.e., the wrenching of territory, the upholding of Imperialism in Europe and Asia, and the buying of Franco and other dictators in order to wean them away from Germany; surely it is high time to 'take a thocht and mend!' Reconciliation and a real peace can only come by a renunciation all round of selfish aims and a working together of all belligerents for the healing of wounds and the restoration of Europe.

Richard Lee

DANGER IN U.S. PLAN FOR EUROPE

Germany a 'no-man's land'

THE Quebec conference ended, says Mr. Churchill, in "a blaze of agreement"—and of secrecy. Except that USA is not "to have all the fun" in the Far East. Whether this great democracy will be allowed to know anything definite about decisions upon which its future depends is highly doubtful.

The only reports that have taken shape are (1) that Mr. Churchill overcame the American objection to the proposal that Britain should occupy N.W. Germany, particularly the Ruhr and the Rhineland; (2) that Mr. Morgenthau (USA Treasury Secretary) put forward a truly fearful plan for the dismemberment and de-industrialization of Germany which Churchill and Roosevelt are said "to have substantially approved."

The Morgenthau plan

IF this Morgenthau plan is accepted and imposed, then goodbye to the last dwindling hopes of peace in our time or our children's. Here it is:

- "1. Divide the Reich into two States—North Germany and South Germany."
- "2. Cede the Saar and certain Rhineland areas to France."
- "3. Give the eastern areas to Poland, in accordance with Russia's wishes."
- "4. Strip German steel plants to a fraction of their present capacity."
- "5. Move excess industrial facilities to France and other lands ravaged by the Germans as a kind of reparation."
- "6. Dismember the chemical industry."
- "7. Remove synthetic oil works entirely, because they are essential to war industry."
- "8. Close ore-producing mines."
- "9. Divide large estates into small farms."
- "10. Supervise education."

"Cordell Hull is determined that the final American plan shall be acceptable to Russia as well as to Britain—another reason for a second Teheran." (Daily Express, Sep. 25.)

Observer's Commentary

There is a sting in the tail of this: see below.

"Re-education"

THE first step in the supervision of education has already been taken in the little German town of Kornelimünster, now occupied by the Americans. All schools are closed till further notice.

"One of the points in the alleged Morgenthau plan is that all schools shall be closed 'until new textbooks are prepared' and universities shall be closed 'indefinitely' . . . Is it really proposed to let all German boys and girls run wild, their heads full of Nazi nonsense, until the Allies have written, approved, and printed sufficient textbooks for all the schools in Germany? It is a task which will take some time, especially if the Americans and Russians must first agree on the wording of an elementary history of the Weimar Republic for use in the first form. It is time for a little commonsense." (Manchester Guardian, Sep. 25.)

It is indeed. But the signs of impending commonsense are nil. The Morgenthau plan points to an outbreak of such stark and staring lunacy as will shatter what remains of the civilized world.

Creating new problems

THE Morgenthau plan brings to a head the plentiful crop of the most sinister rumours concerning the intended peace-settlement. Since these rumours are taken seriously by journals as sober as the Manchester Guardian, The Economist, and The Times, it is foolish to hide our heads in the sand. The evidence is that a truly appalling peace-settlement is being prepared.

Take one item alone—the incorporation of all German territories east of the rivers Oder and Góelitzer-Neisse in Poland, to which Mr. Churchill has already given approval in Parliament.

"That means that the old Reich—i.e. Germany of the Versailles Treaty—would lose 23.3% of her territory. Together with the Sudeten Germans more than 12 million people would have to be transferred to the 'rump Germany'. More than 71 millions would have to live on about 100,000 square miles. The United Kingdom covers 95,000 square miles with a population of 47½ millions."

"The problems of fitting such a Germany into a reconstituted Europe are staggering to the imagination and very probably insoluble." (Manchester Guardian, Sep. 18.)

Pure barbarism

ADD to this the Morgenthau scheme of forcibly de-industrializing Germany and you get pure barbarism: forcing a far denser population to live, without the means of production that enabled the pre-war Germany to live. It is far more barbarous—though avoiding, of course, the overt brutalities of the concentration camp—than anything that Hitler intended to impose on Europe.

The immediate effect can only be to stimulate still further the already desperate resistance of Germany. What Goebbels tells the German people is true. They have no hope if they are defeated.

One can only hope that it is untrue that the Morgenthau plan has the substantial approval of Roosevelt and Churchill. But, we repeat, there is nothing to suggest that it may not be true: still less anything to justify the conviction that it cannot be true.

"The Times" solution

THE Times itself is alarmed. It offers a solution (Sep. 20) which (it says) disposes of the dangerous conflict between military requirements and self-determination. If present policies prevail, self-determination will be disregarded—with disastrous

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Plea for a rational settlement

PETITION LAUNCHED

"THE root issue is between relevance and irrelevance, not between leniency and harshness. We advocate not a lenient but a rational peace," said Gerald Bailey, Director of the National Peace Council at a Press conference in London last week to inaugurate the Council's petition for a constructive peace.

Dr. C. E. M. Joad said he did not believe that there was such a thing as a specific and peculiar wickedness in a single nation. Just as we partly produced the conditions in Germany of poverty and unemployment in which Nazism developed, so we could make new conditions. The peace to be aimed at was one which all countries, including Germany, could accept as just and fair.

Dame Sybil Thorndike appealed to the Press to give fair publicity to the petition campaign, saying that it was much easier to be destructive than creative, much easier to gain popularity by sneering and criticism.

INFLUENCE ELECTION

Gerald Bailey, in giving practical details about the campaign, said that it was hoped that workers for it would collaborate in the constituencies and take their signatures in the first instance to their local MPs, so that its influence could be felt rapidly and if necessary before a general election were held.

Dr. Henry Carter described the constitution and affiliations of the NPC, and Professor Norman Bentwich was chairman.

Why Britain must help to feed hungry Europe

THE UNRRA Conference at Montreal opened dramatically with the warning from Director Herbert Lehman that conditions in most of the liberated Europe are worse, not better, than was expected.

Relief measures for the first six months or more are in the hands of the military authorities, who have acquired a virtual monopoly of the stocks of foodstuffs for civilian relief.

General Macready told the UNRRA conference that supplies have been distributed according to plan in the wake of the advancing Allied Armies. His statement gives a dangerously false impression, and is altogether too reminiscent of the over-optimistic stories about the food position in liberated France which led Lehman to say:

"Nothing has alarmed these officials of UNRRA so much as recent evidence of a public impression . . . that things in Europe have been shown by the invasion to be not so bad after all."

MILITARY RELIEF FAILS

Military relief measures for the Italian civilians have not been a

SOCIAL PURPOSE

"THE social organization of conscientious objection," says Mr. Bernard Shaw in his new book, "is the only method now available for preventing a war." That describes, very exactly, the purpose of the late Dick Sheppard in founding the Peace Pledge Union: in origin and essence a non-sectarian body.

The purpose of Peace News is to make plain—in and out of season—why it is the duty of all conscious men to become conscientious objectors to war, quite apart from any religious views they may hold. Conscientious objection to war, as it is maintained and championed by Peace News, is the obligation of man to Humanity.

Contributions since Sep. 15: £14 11s. 10d. Total to date: £5,477 3s. 9d.

THE EDITOR

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Montreal opened dramatically with the warning from Director Herbert Lehman that conditions in most of the liberated and still occupied countries of

success. Italians are receiving only 1,000-1,500 calories daily, and a determined effort has been made at Montreal to extend UNRRA aid to this "ex-enemy" nation.

Still worse is the record of the military in regard to Paris, where it is evident that the welfare of the people has been subordinated altogether to the exigencies of a war of pursuit.

Before the war, reports the News-Chronicle (Sep. 21), 6,000 tons of food were brought into Paris every day; the present figure is only 3,000 tons. The military had planned to supply 2,400 tons towards the total but "owing to the rapid Allied advance, the military demands on transport were greater than anticipated. The net result was that Paris received only 11,400 tons in all from the day of liberation up till Sept. 17—an average of some 500 tons a day."

How does General Macready square those disgraceful facts with his report of relief "according to plan"? Presumably by his reference to a plan which "was amended substantially, but for military security reasons the change could not be disclosed." The sooner UNRRA gets control the better.

SUPPLIES INADEQUATE

How far UNRRA will be able to make up for the shortcomings of military relief depends not only on how soon UNRRA gets in but on the supplies available for relief. The British Press has virtually ignored the crucial passage in Lehman's speech.

He warned the conference that with the exception of a few commodities, notably wheat and barley, "the present prospect is that supplies which will be made available for liberated areas will fall considerably short of estimated requirements. The situation is particularly tight with respect to animal proteins, fats, sugar and milk. As long as military requirements and civilian consumption continue at the present levels, it is unlikely that the prospect will improve."

Mr. Richard Law, the British member of the UNRRA Council, assured

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PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

THE WAY TO PEACE

THERE is a French word: Recueillement. It serves as the title of one of Baudelaire's most beautiful poems—grave and serene. Literally, it means a gathering again: that is to say a gathering of the heart, the mind, the soul together in a withdrawal from the impact of mere circumstance: a quiet taking back possession of one's soul from the importunities and usurpations of daily living, the attending, managing, contriving, planning, calculating, conjecturing which is the superficial texture of our lives. We gather ourselves back from time into eternity—into the calm solitude of the selfless, anonymous being: the core of stillness at the heart of the whirlwind.

The huge event that is all about us is unfathomable. We grope at its meaning and are confounded. Its grandeur and its misery are equally manifest, and equally unsearchable. We know enough to be cast down by the shrill confidence of victory; we know too little to be sustained by a larger and more human hope. If we could but believe in Him, we would cry to God to have mercy on us all.

Yes, that is it. We want, we long, to cry to God: but not alone. We want, we long, to join our soul to the souls of millions in a great silent cry to God. We have nothing to ask of Him: only that He should suffer us to make our cry: that He should move us all to make one universal cry, and in that speechless universal cry acknowledge our common humanity and our common misery.

"Where," asked Rilke the Austrian poet in a letter written at the end of the last war—"where for us here is the visible expression of this desperate world? Does one not think one should, laden with the years-long consciousness of whatever of evil is fulfilling itself therein, come at last to some place where people are on their knees and crying out? This I should understand, I should throw myself down among them and might then have my outcry under the shelter of theirs."

There should be such a place. But it will not be found. Not for this purpose are the Churches used to-day. There is no outward temple for this prayer, this lamentation. The minds of men have forgotten how to make it. God has slipped out of the process of history: been forgotten, somehow mislaid. Man does everything in the dispensation in which we live. There is no room for God in the chaos of man's vast and aimless doing. There is no margin, no debatable no-man's-land wherein God's will not man's is visibly done.

Man fills the stage of history: the misery he has created is both utterly his own, and utterly beyond his comprehension. He has lost the capacity even to feel it. For the acknowledged margin of events which used to be God's province was the source whence his capacity to feel his own impotence and humility was sustained. But now man is omnipotent and wholly a slave: the slave of himself.

To whom then shall he kneel? To whom then shall he cry?

It does not matter. The important thing is that he should kneel and cry: that the great wave of humility and sorrow—the tears at the heart of things—should pass over him and through him and cleanse him.

Let us return through the depths of ourselves to that which is not ourselves. That, today, is perhaps the only way towards the common humanity which we seek, in vain, to touch in the vast aggregates of the mass-society.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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"Creative revolution or political vacuum"

Wilfred Wellock replies . . .

MR. South's article is valuable as a revelation of the vacuum which the breakdown of political democracy has produced. He exaggerates, by the way, the implication of the title to my three articles. It is common form to use such titles (e.g. *The Way Out*) to express a personal view.

All through his article Mr. South is struggling to escape from an obvious vacuum. He does not succeed, and ends with a plea to accept political socialism as the means of working-class emancipation in conditions which he admits are revolutionary, and in which the Labour Party has come to a dead end. His plight is revealed in the assertion that even a materialistic socialism will at any rate bring us nearer to our ultimate goal.

It is, however, important to realise that the kind of socialism Mr. South wants cannot emerge in the interim between the close of the war and the boomerang of its economic revolutions, and that the latter will probably bring the national socialism of a totalitarian regime of one kind or another. Mr. South admits the inevitability of the boomerang, and also that it may bring Fascism.

The new line-up

Moreover, since the Labour Party and the Trade Unions are lining up with Conservatism and Big Business on the main issues of foreign and home policy, a reasonable socialism cannot emerge. The economic stresses which will later appear, will lead to intensive Communist agitation, to meet which the Labour Party will coalesce still more closely with the reaction, and finally, with it, bring in the Corporative State. The time factor, together with the publicity power of the reaction, which penetrates into every department of our national life, will make it impossible

to A. E. SOUTH'S socialist criticism (which we published last week) of his recent series of articles on "The Pacifist Outlook"

for any other socialist Party to get anywhere.

When Mr. South says that socialism will bring us nearer to our goal, does he mean that we should accept the socialism of the Labour Party, a species of national socialism which has Labour Party support, or one of the Communist variety? He evades that issue, yet states with an optimism that is staggering, that spiritual values will turn up all right in the end, and that the State, as Marx predicted, will in due course conveniently disappear.

★

UNFORTUNATELY, events have interposed factors which Marx did not foresee, such as counter-revolution and the uses to which the surplus value of capitalism, or the productive power of the machine, can be put, also the fears and the ideological conflicts to which that power can give rise. State power, thus derived, has now reached dimensions and produced problems which Marx did not envisage.

Who, looking at the great centres of power to-day—economic and military—with their conflicting ideologies, their power to give effect to world-wide economic revolutions, dare predict anything but the spread and intensification of totalitarian power throughout the world, of robotisation and the further degradation of human values, to be compensated by increased economic security and interests appropriate to economic man?

Victory of the Webbs

In view of this situation, and of Mr. South's admissions, I should have thought that my statement that modern socialism was materialistic in origin, was sufficiently explained by my reference to the clash between the Webbs and Wm. Morris 60 years ago.

The victory of the Webbs on that occasion had led directly to the materialistic socialism of to-day.

Contrary to Mr. South's suggestion, I have every sympathy for the working man of to-day, for I realise both his plight and its causes. Nor am I opposed to his good wages (when he gets them), nor even to his spending them on entertainment. What concerns me is the degrading process whereby the human person is being transformed into the mass man, pitchforked willy-nilly into conditions wherein only angels could be expected to keep alive the values Mr. South and I esteem.

I submit that in the era we are now entering, there is no hope on the political level for the revolution we desire, but only on the level of creative living. It baffles me, after all I have written in *Peace News* in recent years, to be told that I have pointed no way to the recovery of man's lost values.

★

I ADMIT I look to the sun. I do so because I am stimulated by its glory, cheered by its warmth and inspired by its creative power. Without the sun the earth would be dead and powerless. The creative revolution assumes the necessity of their union.

Mr. South says there is no greater sin than to awaken the idealism of the common man, and then say the things that have been promised are impossible. He is mistaken. A far greater sin is to pretend that values can still be realised along a path which events have converted into a cul-de-sac. Why repeat shibboleths when power politics are sweeping away our values and the roadways to them and leaving us without heritage or hope?

Culture or power

I, too, want a United States of Europe, and indeed of the world, but States cannot unite for good until they learn to produce the values that are essential to peace and concord. We shall not get a real United States of Europe until we are in a position to export the right things: culture and goodwill instead of the symbols of power; men and women of goodwill instead of exploiters and diplomatic ultimatums; commodities of a goodwill exchange instead of the mass output of a class and power dominated society. The new world must be built on new spiritual foundations, and the starting point must be at home, in the right use of the energies and enthusiasm of the common man. Progress may be slow, but we have reached a point when the common man can be saved by no other means.

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THERE'S A LESSON FOR TODAY IN Ireland's tragic farce

From a correspondent

THOSE who cheerfully contemplate the permanent subjugation of the Axis Powers might do worse than ponder over Ireland's story during the last three centuries.

In 1649, this "distressful country" was beaten to the ropes by Cromwell, and received such treatment at the hands of that apostle of thoroughness as might have satisfied even a Vansittart. Yet, later in the same century, William III had to repeat the conquest; Ireland was again "finally" humbled.

The French Revolution, however, and the wars which followed, appeared to Irishmen to offer another chance; but once more, in 1798, they were decisively crushed; only to plan

Words of Peace — 92

Our weapon is the smallest possible. Nobody can find it, not even those who run all over the globe with seven-league boots, not even those who bend all their energy and ingenuity to the task. The effect of our weapon is seen everywhere, though it, itself, remains undiscovered. Its effect is peace, joy and frankness in an era of clashing arms. It is faith in what is sacred. There is no other weapon to compare with it. It melts ice, it gives light and warmth, it creates and alters, it drives out doubt and despondency, and it stands on guard. It passes triumphantly through locked gates, so that those who sit in prison are comforted, and hear the words of their fellow-countrymen reflecting the Glory of God in their congregations.

—The words of a Danish woman High School Teacher in 1942 quoted in "Education in Democracy—The Folk High Schools of Denmark," by J. Christmas Moller and Katherine Watson (Faber & Faber, 1944).

further abortive risings in 1803 and 1848.

Then followed a period of discontent, secret societies, assassinations, sporadic rioting. Late in the 19th century, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Ireland's Chief Secretary, managed to bring about some sort of order; the years from 1900 to 1910 were fairly tranquil.

But ancient grudges festered; in 1916, Dublin was aflame; from then to 1921, all Ireland became a guerilla battleground. After the truce of 1921, Irishmen, weary of shooting the English, turned their weapons on one another; this phase ended in 1922.

Today, both England and Ireland are dissatisfied.

The former looks askance at a neighbour who retains Axis representatives in her capital city, and who refused to permit England, in her hour of bitter stress, to use the southern Irish ports. Eire (Southern Ireland), for her part, resents the fact that the Union Jack still flies in the North. Ironically enough, every year thousands of Ireland's youth abandon their country, whose "freedom" their fathers died to achieve, and domicile themselves in England, the land of the "oppressor."

One would think that, during these centuries of tumult, any pacific remnant would be trodden underfoot. Yet the Irish Quakers, north and south, have on the whole fared well. One peculiar feature of the 1798 rising was that belligerents on both sides found sanctuary in Quaker farm-houses, which were seldom molested.

Such is Ireland's recent history. Is it tragedy, or is it farce? No more tragic nor farcical than any war, every war, this present war. Generation after generation, young men advance with high courage, through fire and blood to win the apple of victory, then, later, sorrowfully munch the Dead Sea fruit which is their reward.

1 RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

TRAINING FOR NON-VIOLENCE

ABOUT personal pacifism there is a large measure of common agreement in the PPU, though it may amount to little more than agreement to differ. We all endeavour not to beat our wives and to be charitable to Churchill. But the question of discipline or training for corporate action, that is to say for acting co-operatively with reasonable efficiency, raises all sorts of complicated difficulties. I think it is for this reason that the Non-Violence Committee has tackled its job from the end of corporate action.

There is, undoubtedly, a great deal of thought and inquiry needed on that subject. Certainly it is not, as one or two correspondents have feared, that the Committee is not interested in the personal side of the problem. Probably we shall get around to some detailed discussions on this matter later on. It might be a good thing if some members and groups anticipated us and sent in reports for consideration by the Committee. A section of the "Non-Violence Reading-List" gives books and pamphlets on this subject, representing very diverse points of view. Copies of this reading-list will be available soon at 3d. each. Executive has decided to send one copy to each group and contact member on publication.

Perhaps there can be no single comprehensive solution to the problem in a mixed movement, such as ours. How does one begin to decide whether or not everyone ought to be advised to take up yoga or hand-spinning, Pelmanism or prayer? For myself I am relieved to find that I am under no compulsion to share Aldous Huxley's conviction that "Society can never be greatly improved until such time as most of its members choose to become theocentric saints." Some PPU members would say that, on the contrary, no discipline is of much use other than the natural discipline of doing efficiently the particular job in hand. Some sort of synthesis of these attitudes may be found in Gandhi's statement of faith: "All our activities should be centred in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life. When once this stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached, all other rules of correct living will come without effort, and obedience to them will be instinctive."

And—scarcely a new question—what is Truth? I have just had a short letter from Mr. Gandhi written from Panchgani in July in which he says something that I understand only in part, but which has set me thinking hard. I print it here in the hope that it may prove as interesting to you:

"All I can say is that I am endeavouring to follow God's guidance. I do not believe in a personal deity, but I believe in the Eternal Law of Truth and Love which I have translated as non-violence. This Law is not a dead thing like the law of a King. It is a living thing—the Law and the Law-giver are One. For those who realize this Truth, the Law-giver becomes a personal Deity."

ROY WALKER

P.P.U. NATIONAL COUNCIL

At their recent meeting PPU National Council co-opted Edwin Bigland, of Tewkesbury, who was the leading unsuccessful candidate at the election earlier this year, to replace Ronald H. Smith, who resigned from Council on joining PPU Staff.

Mr. Churchill's "fun"

The BBC News Bulletin on the morning of Sunday, Sept. 17, contained a report of Mr. Churchill's Press conference at Quebec. This stated that, after mentioning what British strength would be engaged in the war against Japan, the Prime Minister said "we aren't going to let the Americans have all the fun." Churchill's attitude to the war for all to know!

But then, apparently, the blue pencils which are employed to obscure our statesmen's feet of clay from the eyes of their idolizers got busy. For who knows that those who now endure, or may have to endure, the "blood, sweat and tears" will share Mr. Churchill's apparent enjoyment of the war or his idea of what constitutes "fun"?

So I searched Monday's papers in vain for a report which included his little indiscretion. But a Manchester Guardian leader of that day, as well as a subsequent letter in their correspondence columns, contained references which confirmed that I had not dreamt the BBC announcement.

DENIS RILEY

13 Beech Ave., Horsforth, Leeds.

Food for Germany

The Food Relief Campaign's revised policy (PN, Sep. 15) extends its vigilance in the European food situation to "Germany if necessary." Is there doubt of that necessity?

Greater Germany may have been 80 per cent. self-sufficient in food, but that position is changing catastrophically. The 7 oz. weekly cut in the bread ration, together with the prohibition of all cake and sweet-making (except for specified children) and the new restrictions on beer, meat and fats, are described by the Sunday Times (Sep. 24) as "only the beginning of a series of cuts which will follow the loss of big food-producing areas." This report estimates that the territories recently lost to Germany mean a loss of 3,300,000 tons of bread-grains alone, and, in all, 12 per cent. of her total food needs.

At the moment of her military collapse, Germany will have lost, not merely the wheat from the plains of Rumania and Hungary, but also the dairy-produce of Holland and Denmark. Several millions of unproductive servicemen will be driven back inside her 1938 frontiers, and twelve million more foreign workers will be unable temporarily to get out. Her embittered neighbours may well seize any available food stocks. In such a situation, chaos is likely and famine more than possible.

UNRRA declares categorically: "If Germany wants relief she will have to pay for it and get it from some other agency, for it is not UNRRA's job to supply enemy countries." There is, of course, no other agency; UNRRA controls all the relief-potential, even if a disintegrating Germany could somehow pay. All this indicates a post-war blockade, comparable to 1918-9. The temptation to let Germany "stew in her own juice" (to borrow Churchill's phrase of post-Mussolini Italy) will be strong.

"Ginger-groups" for relief to liberated countries may be needed, but there is general

ARTHUR MIDDLETON

From a correspondent

The humanitarian movement has lost a sterling advocate in the death on Sept. 12 of Mr. Arthur Middleton, of Manchester.

Mr. Middleton was perhaps best known in the north as the secretary of the Humane Education Society, and for many years worked with unceasing industry and devotion to end man's cruelty to animals. He was a vegetarian and life-long pacifist and the sworn enemy of all those interests that sought to contaminate the stream of life.

agreement—from whatever motives—on the principle of prompt post-war relief for our Allies. But a revulsion against permitting a beaten enemy to starve will take time, as it did in 1919, and the time-lag is crucial.

Pacifists, who have exploited the 1918-9 disaster should be eager to prevent its repetition. The belated relenting of UNRRA in Italy indicates the danger—unless a public opinion is now created which will not tolerate in the hour of victory a biological war against the weaker citizens of an enemy. Power.

HOWARD WHITTEN

Maurice Rowntree

How many people in a whole lifetime do we really know? Even if we are unusually gregarious, the number is tragically small.

Mercifully and miraculously there are certain people whom we know in the first electric instant of contact, as instantaneously as the pressing of a switch. Contact with Maurice was just that. Years of subsequent intimacy served to consolidate the impressions of the esoteric vibrations in the first radiant instant.

From the personality of Maurice there emanated an effluence of kindness, compassion, and love, perceptible even to the least sensitive. His distinct personality radiated gentleness and profound understanding. Those who were privileged to know him intimately sensed his probity and mental precision. Except to the discerning this was veiled by the rarest of toleration. The dominant note in his character was this sympathetic toleration. He incarnated Goethe's saying: "I have no room in my heart for any other emotion than that of pity."

His life is a beacon light and a spiritual challenge calling to us to emulate his glorious example. Maurice's work will never die. For his spirit is immortal.

DAVID JACKSON

c/o Royal Bank, Dunleary, Eire.

The Christian Party

The Christian Party wants to help in the calling of a conference representative of all bodies and individuals ready to put up Christian Pacifist candidates on an agreed programme, at the next general election.

Such an agreed programme should be in the hands of the electors some time before an election.

All interested groups and individuals are asked to write at the earliest moment to C. R. Field, 32 Wordsworth Rd., Stoke, Coventry.

G. NORMAN ROBBINS

(Chairman)

C. R. FIELD

(Secretary)

FUTURE OF C.O.s IN CIVIL DEFENCE

COs discharged from full-time Civil Defence service under the plans recently announced by the Government will not be released from their conditions. If a CO has no alternative condition his case will be referred back to the local tribunal as one of "reasonable excuse" for non-fulfilment of condition. It will then be for the tribunal to decide what other work they will allow him to take up.

This interpretation of official policy, secured at an interview between representatives of the Central Board for COs and a senior official of the Ministry of Labour, appears in an article on the general effect of the relaxation of Home Guard and Civil Defence duties published in the September issue of the CBCO Bulletin.

The Bulletin also contains an article on CO Fellowship Week and a provisional list of meetings arranged in various parts of the country; a contribution by Dr. C. E. M. Joad on "The Strange Case of the Council for Civil Liberties"—"of which," he says, "I believe I have the honour to be a Vice-President"; and an article on "The Fate of German COs." It is obtainable, price 3d. (4d. post paid), from the CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

NOT as the Romans do . . .

IN Rome the "liberating" troops do not do as the Romans do. Or so it appears from two reports in the Times of Sep. 19.

The joint report of the international trade union delegation which had visited the city "paints a black picture," cabled the Rome correspondent, under the caption: "Economic Distress in Southern Italy—Lack of Work and Food."

"It says that social and economic conditions in Southern Italy and Sicily are impossible to describe. Money has ceased to have any meaning. The majority of the working population are without normal employment. The supply of rationed food which is issued at a controlled price is insufficient to maintain a person in health, and current wages are insufficient to buy an adequate amount in the open market. The only alternative, if the worker does not wish to starve, is to resort to corruption and looting. In Rome the delegation was informed that the death-rate of infants under one year was double what it was before the war."

But in the correspondence columns a letter home from a "catering adviser" was quoted:

"The troops can now get a very good three-course meal and all the tea they can drink for 6d., and this with first-class service and restaurant, equipment, silver, glass, linen, etc. It seems the troops have played up well, behave like gentlemen, and so far they have not lost even a teaspoon, which proves that given decent conditions they react accordingly."

ROY WALKER FINED £5

Roy Walker, Secretary of the Food Relief Campaign of the Peace Pledge Union, was prosecuted for the third time at Clerkenwell Police Court on Sept. 20. He had already served six months in prison for refusing to be medically examined and six weeks (in lieu of a £10 fine) for refusing a direction to land-work.

Appearing for Roy Walker, Denis Hayes (instructed by the Central Board for COs) pointed out the large number of cases in which a third prosecution of this kind had not been brought, and read letters from the Bishops of Chichester and Birmingham, T. Edmund Harvey, MP, Laurence Housman, and others, emphasizing the value of the defendant's work. Dr. C. E. M. Joad and John P. Fletcher gave evidence at the Court as to character and sincerity.

Giving judgment, the Magistrate, Mr. Frank Powell, said that after taking all the circumstances into account he had decided not to send Walker to prison again, and the defendant would be fined £5. Any alternative was refused.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

PACIFIST (31), musical, seeks board and accommodation, out all day. Bristol area. Box 625.

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WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LAMB RIBBONS. Cleanest, longest; 18s. 6d. six, 10s. three, 8s. 6d. each, postage paid. Name typewriters, colours. Martin Hardman, Prospect Place, Preston.

TYPEWRITERS BOUGHT, sold and repaired. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

FRANCISCAN COMMUNITY seeks prospective members for landwork or for book and church vestment business near Essex coast. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Rd., London, S.W.5.

TWO FRIENDS, single 28, would like to hear from two young ladies willing to assist in farming enterprise. Box 630.

TO 3 acres of land wanted within 30 miles Charing Cross, Conway, 213 Silverleigh Rd., Thornton Heath, Surrey.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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40,000 SECOND-HAND books on theology, Bible study, liturgy, mysticism, pacifism, psychology, sociology, politics, gardening etc. Monthly list 2d., allowed for on return. Profits help Franciscan community. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Rd., London, S.W.5.

FASCISM IN TRINIDAD! See Christian Party News-Letter. Harry Dale, Fred Eva, Ronald Mallone, McKenzie-Mavinga, Betty Pratt, Donald Pritchard, Norman Robbins contribute prose and verse. 5d. from 30 Darby Road, Oldbury.

MEETINGS, etc.

MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship. Sunday, Oct. 1. 3 p.m., Selly Oak F.M.H., "The Post-War Outlook for Pacifism." Dr. F. Welsh.

TAUNTON PEACE Group A.G.M., Oct. 5, at Friends' Meeting House, Bath Place. 6.30 p.m., business. 7 p.m., Dr. Alex Wood: "The German Problem."

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN 19 Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

PACIFIST (31), fond music, reading, walking, etc., would like to meet pacifist with similar interests, with view to friendship, Bristol area. Box 625.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

RADIO ENGINEER. Part or full time. Maida Vale 4200. Call Saturday afternoons. Brewer and Sons, 83 Fairfax Rd., Sth. Hampstead, N.W.6.

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C.O., AGED 28, 4 years experience, seeks permanent position on land. Preferably school or community, anything useful. Wife work part-time. Box 629.

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C.O., 25, single, seeks post in shop. Good references. South preferred. Hand, Kennels Cottage, Blankney, Lincoln.

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MAINTAINING THE GERMAN MENACE

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

results: for (1) strategic frontiers are probably obsolescent, by the advance of military and especially air technique; and (2) a settlement which involved placing huge minorities under alien rule or the deportation of millions would not be upheld in cold blood, and "would prove fatal to the security it sought to achieve."

The solution is an international organization to maintain peace. That would be independent of frontiers.

"The sole ultimately effective military guarantee is the establishment of permanent bases held in the name of an international organization at certain key-points in Germany . . . of this guarantee the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May, 1942, or the permanent alliance which should ultimately replace it, forms the solid nucleus."

The apparent exclusion of USA from this arrangement is curious.

No-man's-land?

BUT the point which concerns me now is how this scheme fits with the account of the situation in a pre-Quebec editorial in the popular American magazine *Life* (Aug. 7).

"The other day an American official who knows the score if anybody does summed it up this way:

"Russia and Great Britain have come to a firm understanding—good at least for the next 10 or 15 years. Germany is to be a kind of no-man's-land between them. Russia is to have it her way east of Germany; England is to have it her way, as far as she can, west of Germany—and throughout the Empire. In the Mediterranean and the Balkans there will be a certain amount of fairly well-mannered conflict. And what is America's part in all this? Here the high official shrugged his shoulders: 'I know no more about that than the American people do.'"

How are we to square this with the super-Vansittartism of Morgenthau?

Dangerous policy

ALL I can make of this is that Roosevelt, in order to get Russian support for his Big-Three League, is pretending to swallow and even outvie the sternest Russian plans for the perpetual suppression of Germany (see Cordell Hull, above).

If this be true—and it is the only rational explanation I can think of—it is a terribly dangerous game to play. It amounts in fact to perpetuating the German menace in order to perpetuate the specious unity of the Big Three. The kind of repression of Germany that is contemplated is a repression that must be maintained. You cannot mitigate or liberalize this kind of thing. You must go on and on. For under such a regime, you can never get a self-respecting German to collaborate except with the secret intention of throwing off the intolerable yoke.

Of one thing I am certain: that there never will be or can be peace in Europe if Germany is to be reduced to "a no-man's-land." And a Big-Three League based on a foundation so rotten and pestilential will be either an instrument of world-tyranny, or a prelude to Armageddon.

What of pacifism?

IT is damned hard to be hopeful. There appears to be no probable development of the actual situation that can give those who hope for a surcease from war any encouragement at all.

Pacifism, as such, has no entry into the "field" of forces and possibilities with which we are confronted. The only basis for a pacifist judgment on the situation which is other than a withdrawal, is a judgment as to what is the most hopeful chance of establishing in Europe, not pacifism, but the kind of social and political order in which pacifists are able to exist. Unless a democratic and tolerant Germany can be created, pacifism will be at best an Anglo-Saxon eccentricity for generations to come.

Hard on Finland

TO call the terms of the Finnish peace moderate is nonsense. They are so onerous as to make it doubtful whether Finland can retain an independent existence.

As the Swedish Press points out, in reparations Finland has to pay as much as Rumania with twice Finland's population and many times her natural resources. In comparison it is a vindictive peace. Nevertheless, one may hope that, once the peril of the war is over, Russia will be sufficiently conscious of her strength to make real friends with Finland.

Teach people to think!

The following comment on the letter from the Duke of Bedford on "Why do people fall for 'dope'?"—published in *Peace News* on Apr. 7—has only recently reached us from the Rev. R. Edis Fairbairn, of Windermere, Ontario, Canada. Mr. Fairbairn, who comes from England, is a well-known pacifist in Canada.

THE Duke of Bedford's letter specially interested me because for fifteen years I have been working on the subject. He wonders that good, sincere, and intellectually competent persons should be caught in the militarist fallacies, while comparatively simple-minded souls should see through them.

It has long been obvious to me that neither sincerity, congenital capacity, nor higher education can guarantee that any person shall always make right judgments, since competent minds have been found on opposite sides of every crucial issue since man began to think.

Some sincere, intelligent, and educated persons then have been definitely wrong. Some apparently competent thinkers have been unable to practise elementary sound thinking. It is elementary sound thinking alone that can enable people to arrive at sound judgments. Erudition may only enable the erudite to make out a case for what they wish to believe.

Nowhere in the school system of any country I know is elementary sound thinking being taught. Yet nothing is more urgently needed, especially where one is still permitted to talk about democracy. Logic, as taught in colleges and universities, is not the same thing at all. An argument may be logically correct and completely false. Logic is what lawyers use to make out a case for a client whom they may know to be in the wrong.

Sound thinking is much simpler than logic, thank God!, but much more demanding. We cannot hope to

think soundly until we have made up our minds to act upon whatever conclusions reality forces us to accept. Like faith, in the 11th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews' sound thinking always goes into action.

Further, sound thinking is both more and less than reasoning. It begins in Wonder, and it goes on to Faith. Reasoning has a function, but it is not indispensable. In any case I have found it possible to present to young people and adults all that is practically useful in connexion with the syllogism without ever saying the word and without any of the cumbersome and forbidding technical vocabulary of logic. All one needs is two circles of card of different size on stick-pins, with a larger circle mounted on a board. The various fallacies can be reduced to four: false assumption, false consequence, false antithesis, and false analogy, and one does not need even to use those names.

It is, I hold, perfectly feasible to teach children of the elementary schools to recognize at sight, or sound, any of these tricks of propaganda. That would be terrible for politicians, advertisers, and parsons; but it would be a long step towards genuine democracy in case we ever decide to try that.

Reconciliation, the organ of the Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation, consented, somewhat dubiously, to use a series of articles on Sound Thinking, with the proviso that the illustrative material should bear upon pacifism. Even though pacifism were not once mentioned, such a series could be the most useful possible contribution to pacifist education. We can only justify pacifism if as a whole we do a better job of thinking than our opponents. And we shall only be able to maintain our conviction if we are able to detect the shoddy work in militarist propaganda.

The skill of sound thinking could be acquired by any person of ordinary mentality with or without higher education.

SHALL WE BE SORRY AGAIN?

IN his book "Retrospection—memories of a long, fulfilled and happy life—Lord Newton, a charming type of an English grand seigneur with common sense, records his various meetings with German delegates during the last war in neutral places, in his capacity as commissioner for prisoners of war.

In mid-July, 1918, he met them at the Hague, and information reached him that the Germans were ready to put forward more reasonable proposals than had ever been expected. As an earnest of good intentions it was intimated that they were willing to evacuate Belgium and to pay an indemnity and that there was no intention of retaining territory in Alsace and Lorraine. "What, they said with some justification," remarks Lord Newton, "is the sense of going on fighting, for the benefit of the Russian Bolsheviks, who will be the only people to benefit? Whether my information was perfectly correct or not," continues Lord Newton, "the important fact was that the Germans obviously realised that they were going to lose the war, otherwise they would not have made any such approach."

When Lord Newton succeeded in seeing the Prime Minister, some days later, Lloyd George was greatly interested, saying that it was the first attempt to approach us directly. "After a long conversation, he said that he would consult his colleagues on the subject. Whether he did so, I never heard, but looking back, after 23 years, I cannot help thinking that it would, perhaps, have been wiser, in the long run, to take advantage of the opportunity and agree to the principle of a negotiated peace. Had we taken this course, some of the disastrous decisions at Versailles would have been avoided . . . there would have been no continuous truckling to France on our part, no Ruhr occupation and consequently no Hitler, while, on the other hand, we should have saved many thousands of lives, several hundred millions of money and a large proportion of our shipping. All these advantages were, however, swept away in deference to the demand for the knock-out blow. . . ."

"When the news (of the armistice) arrived in London, at 11 a.m., the proceedings were not impressive, for we do not show at our best in the moment of victory. Work stopped at once, and in London the streets were filled with innumerable lorries, packed with shouting men and women, rushing about aimlessly. Even in this hour of exhilaration and release from the danger which had so long threatened us, I could not resist the feeling that before long we should be regretting that we had not made an earlier peace, on a sure foundation created by negotiation. . . ."

Lloyd George, who listened to Lord Newton and was much impressed, did not act according to his own feeling, because the political game had too big a grip on him. Today, Mr. Winston Churchill would not even listen to a Lord Newton for he has lordly advisers of his own making—Lord Cherwell, Lord Vansittart, and an informant of the calibre of Leopold Schwarzschild, author of "Europe in Trance," containing some appalling distortions of facts, but, nevertheless, a favourite book of the present Prime Minister and compulsory reading (it is said) for his Cabinet. F.W.

He saluted the enemy wounded

Reporting a Press conference held by Georges Bidault, until recently president of the French National Council of Resistance and now Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government, a *News-Chronicle* correspondent in Paris quoted him on Monday as saying: "The problem of Germany must be finished with once and for all. Our people, who suffered so much from Germany, have the right to say that."

The report added: "It was not, however, in a spirit of fear or hatred that France approached the problem."

"As an instance, M. Bidault revealed that while the people of Paris were fighting on the barricades—and all of them, for the first time in their history, on the same side of the barricades—he went on their behalf to the hospital near the Hotel de Ville to salute the German wounded."

EAST ANGLIA CONFERENCE

The coming together in Norwich of pacifists from our scattered area to spend a weekend in study was a unique war-time experience for some of us, justified by the keen sense of fellowship and the conviction of the lecturers.

Our pacifism, said Bill Grindlay, was not just a question of a long-term faith; we must be aware of the urgent choice before men today. Society would be planned for plenty and peace, for the alternative was race suicide. But would man take a sufficiency of his needs in return for his liberty, or would he accept consciously the responsibility for democratic planning, with all its pain and conflict? The PPU must allow neither lethargy nor pessimism to encyst its unique message from the here and now.

The PPU itself was an experiment in democracy, said Ron Smith, and pacifists had to find a personal integrity which was in conformity with their professions. We must be ready at all times to resist tyranny and injustice, and to co-operate with others, while striving to influence such resistance into non-violent patterns. Finally, we must make energetic use of both the spoken and written word in our public contact. FRANK SAYER

J O A D writes for the
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WHY BRITAIN MUST HELP THE HUNGRY

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

the conference that the British Government was determined "to do everything in its power." Britain should indeed do everything possible. Its food blockade caused a great deal of the hunger and distress in Europe, and Britain is one of the countries represented on the UNRRA Committee of Supplies whose delegates are from countries "likely to be the principal suppliers of relief materials and services at the start of UNRRA operations."

Mr. Richard Law's assurance is not supported by the speech made by the Minister of Food, Col. Llewellyn, at the beginning of the month when he declared that we would send "no stocks that will cause us to diminish our supplies." No doubt it is against unabashed selfishness of this kind that Governor Lehman's remarks were directed. Col. Llewellyn's embarrassing excuse is that "our people have been rationed for four or five years."

BRITAIN MUST SHARE

British people are getting 3,000 calories daily (they have never had less than 2,700 calories and generally more than 2,800 during this war). Parisians were promised "the lowest rate of nutritional value for maintaining health," an average of 2,000 calories daily, as immediate relief. They are really getting "less than 1,000" (*News-Chronicle*, Sep. 21) but the Minister of Food does not think that the British people should do anything to help share the burden. Mr. Eden promised in 1942 that we would help "even though at some expense of sacrifice to ourselves." Last October the British Council of Churches appealed for "willing acceptance by all of even more stringent rationing of food and clothing for a period after hostilities cease."

Governor Herbert Lehman is coming to Europe. We hope the Church leaders and the British public will leave him in no doubt of the willingness of the United Kingdom to make any sacrifices that may be necessary to help the sick, hungry and oppressed peoples whose suffering has been far greater than ours. Mr. Law said at Montreal that UNRRA represented the first venture in practical peacetime co-operation among the United Nations and "if it failed nothing would succeed. The problems of security, social betterment, and economic stability would go unsolved unless they showed themselves capable of solving the more limited problems that confronted UNRRA" (*Times*, Sep. 22). We hope he may convince Col. Llewellyn.

"ADAM AND EVE"

The publication date of Mr. Middleton Murry's new book "Adam and Eve" has been provisionally fixed for Oct. 17.